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13. Pluractionals

Pluractional verbs share a grammatical function: they denote, in one way or another, event plurality. In Lumun, all non-Pluractional verbs have one or more Pluractional counterparts. There is not one single morpheme, nor one single process that derives Pluractional verbs from non-Pluractionals. Instead, non-Pluractionals and Pluractionals relate to each other in different ways. These relationships, however, display patterns, and the far majority of Pluractionals share one or more formal features that are typically (but not exclusively) found in Pluractionals.

I will call those verbs Pluractionals that are in a paradigmatic relationship to a non-Pluractional counterpart and express event plurality as part of their lexical meaning. Semantically, I distinguish between non-habitual pluractionality and habitual pluractionality. I use the label Pluractional for both, since there are no clear morphological divisions between the two semantic types.

Non-habitual Pluractionals are a restricted set. Habitual Pluractionals on the other hand, can in principle be productively (and creatively) be made on the basis of a non-Pluractional or a non-habitual Pluractional. Also habitual Pluractionals themselves often serve as a basis for a further habitual Pluractional, particularly along the lines of certain patterns that will be exemplified in this chapter.

In the first part below, I explore the formal characteristics of Pluractionals, in the second part I address their meaning and use.

13.1. Form

In virtually all cases, the same root appears in the non-Pluractional and the Pluractional stems. Pluractional stems have certain formal characteristics. The far majority contain one or more of the following features:
• a geminated consonant (CC)
• a nasal-consonant sequence (NC)
• a (underlyingly) long initial vowel and a L-tone pattern
• a reduplicated part
• a final or last vowel ɛ.

The table below gives an overview of formal relations between non-Pluractional and Pluractional stems. The table presents patterns of generation of CC and NC sequences and of partial reduplication. Length of the initial vowel (relationship 12) is in most cases not audible in the isolated stem, but comes to the surface when the initial vowel receives a H-tone, because the H-tone is realized as falling. Some relationships between non-Pluractionals and Pluractionals seem more frequent than others: partial reduplication and gemination (6) and final or last vowel ɛ (13). The latter however, is rare as the only feature distinguishing between non-Pluractional and Pluractional. Attested combinations are listed in the last column.

Table 92 Form features of Pluractionals

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>characteristic form features of Pluractionals</th>
<th>relationship Pluractional/non-Pluractional</th>
<th>combines with¹:</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>CC</td>
<td>1 Gemination of ʈ,  k, a nasal or a rhotic</td>
<td>12, 13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2 insertion of ɨɨ between vowels</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3 insertion of (V)tt before the final or last vowel</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>4 insertion of ʊkk(w) before the final or last vowel</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>5 addition of cce after the final or last vowel</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>reduplicated part and CC</td>
<td>6 partial reduplication and gemination: VC ⇒ VC-VCC, or VNC ⇒ VNC-VCC</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

¹ Still further combinations are attested, but verbs with such combinations are labelled ‘further Pluractionals’: Pluractionals based on already Pluractional stems (see 13.1.1).
Non-habitual and habitual meanings are distributed across the patterns, though for a few minor patterns, and one larger pattern (pattern 12) only the one or the other is attested.

Examples of the different formal relationships follow here. Habitual Pluractionals are translated with ‘habitually x’, the others are non-habitual. I have used the term ‘plural’ (‘pl.’) in translations of non-habitual Pluractionals (‘pl. subject participants’ and ‘pl. object participants’), but in several of these cases ‘plural’ refers to ‘many’ rather than to ‘more than one’, moreover distributive semantics may be involved as well. Some non-Pluractional verbs have several Pluractional counterparts that are formed through different procedures, as can be seen in the list below. Examples are ‘say’ (relationship types 2 and 6 from the table above), ‘be’ (2 and 6), ‘steal’ (6 and 11) and ‘descend’ (9 and 11). In the case of ‘say’ the different Pluractionals have different meanings.

Relationship type 1. Gemination of t, k, a nasal or a rhotic.

Gemination of [r] between vowels can give rr but also tt. The first is the case if r is the phoneme /r/, the latter if r is the intervocalic
allophone of /t/. Occasionally r geminates as ɭ. In such cases, it is likely that r has formerly been ɽ. Geminated ɽɽ is not attested: gemination of ɽ results most often in ɭ, but sometimes in rr.

οτόκατ cik ‘swell’ οττόκατ cik ‘swell (pl. subject participants)’ (also 12)
οκά ‘be’ οκκα ‘habitually be’ (also 12)
ομάκοτ ‘follow’ ομμακοτ ‘habitually follow’ (also 12)
ονά ‘bring’ οννά ‘habitually bring’
ορά ‘cultivate’ ορρά ‘habitually cultivate’ (also 12)
οκέρο ‘trade’ οκέττε ‘trade (pl. object participants)’ (also 13)
ονόρο ‘eat (a paste substance)’ ονόλλε ‘habitually eat (a paste substance)’ (also 13)
αρχό cik ‘sleep, spend night’ άλλε cik ‘habitually sleep, spend night’ (also 13)
αρόττα ‘be eaten’ ορρόττα ‘be eaten (pl. subject participants)’

I mention here also a case in which there is a change from ɽ to r, though the Pluralactional verb does not contain a geminate. Note also that the initial vowels differ.

ιρε ‘say’ ερε ‘say, speak (a longer stretch of speech)’

Relationship types 2-4. Insertion of ɭ between vowels (2); insertion of (V)tt before final or last vowel (3); insertion of οκκ(w) before final or last vowel (4).

ιο ‘die’ ιλλε ‘die (pl. subject participants)’ (also 13)
ιφότ ‘send’ ιφόλλε ‘send (pl. object participants)’ (also 13)
ινάς ‘urinate’ ινάλλε ‘urinate (pl. subject participants), urinate repeatedly’ (also 13)

ανωσώ ‘guard’ ανωσττε ‘habitually guard’ (also 13)
ανω ‘sing’ ανωττε ‘habitually sing’ (also 13)
ακάκο ‘grind’ ακάκαττε ‘habitually grind’ (also 13)
ακκό ‘do, make’ ακκόττε ‘habitually do, make’ (also 13)
ακκό ‘pass, reach’ ακκόττε ‘habitually pass, reach’ (also 13)
αππό ‘pass, appear’ αππόττε ‘habitually pass, appear’ (also 13)
apɔ ‘fall’  apɔkk(w)ɔ ‘fall with several bumps’
əə ‘come’  aʊkk(w)ɔ ‘come (pl. subject participants)’
ɔkɛko ‘be shaved’  ɔkeʊkk(w)ɔ ‘habitually be shaved’ (also 12)

In ɔkeʊkk(w)ɔ ‘habitually be shaved’ (last example above) ʊkk(w) replaces the second k of ɔkɛko which is part of the Passive marker -ko (ɔkɛ ‘shave’/ɔkɛko ‘be shaved’)

*Relationship type 5.* Addition of ece after final or last vowel.

ɔkátə ‘look’  ɔkátacee ‘watch’
ɔɔ ‘cry’  ɔɔcece ‘habitually cry’

*Relationship types 6 and 11.* Partial reduplication and gemination: VC ⇒ VC-VCC, VNC ⇒ VNC-VCC (6); Partial reduplication VC ⇒ VC-VC, VCC ⇒ VVC-VCC (11). Partial reduplication of VC without gemination (VC ⇒ VC-VC) is a relatively rare process.

In the reduplicated part the high vowels (i, ɪ, u, ʊ) are often copied, but not in all cases. The vowel ø is mostly copied, but can also be e in reduplication. e and a can be copied, but can also appear as ø. The vowel ø is never copied. Instead, one often finds ø in the reduplicated part, but other vowels also appear.

VC ⇒ VC-VCC

ɾə ‘cook’  ɾətta ‘habitually cook’
ɾɪko ‘enter’  ɾɪkiiko ‘enter (pl. subject participants)’
ɨɾiko ‘tie’  ɨɾikiko ‘tie with several windings, tie (pl. object participants)’
ɔkɛɾ ‘bite’  ɔkɛrɛllo ‘bite repeatedly, eat (hard foods), bite (pl. subject participants)’
ɔɾɪkue ‘make not see’  ɔɾɪlilke ‘make not see (pl. (causee) object participants)’
ɾɛ ‘say (one utterance)’  ɾɪlile ‘habitually say (one utterance)’
ɔkwɑɾɪkət ‘recall instantly’  ɔkwɑɾɛtɪkət ‘remember, think’
ɔɾɛkə ‘work’  ɔɾɛttekə ‘habitually work’
In ɪtatt a the vowel ɪ corresponds to a in the reduplicated part. In ɔkọrello the H-tone occurs one mora to the left as compared to its non-Pluractional counterpart.

VNC ⇒ VNC-VCC

unta ‘fall and spread out (for example of water)’
untutta ‘fall and spread out (pl. subj. participants, scattering)’
ɔntɔma ‘become dry’ ɔntɔttɔma ‘habitually become dry’

VCC ⇒ VVC-VCC

ɔppat ‘become full’ ɔppappidat ‘become full (pl. subject participants)’
ittat ‘become fat’ ittittat ‘become fat (pl. subject participants)’
itte ‘escort’ ittitte ‘escort, help walk (requiring repeated effort)’
ɔccökot ‘catch’ ɔccicicokot ‘catch (pl. object participants, typically thrown one by one and then caught one by one)’
akkarɔ ‘call’ akkkakkarɔ ‘call repeatedly, read’
ɔccikkkarɔ ‘plant’ ɔccikkikkkarɔ ‘habitually plant’
imma ‘see’ immimmima ‘habitually see’

A case is also attested of reduplication followed by degemination of the root part (assuming that reduplication operates to the right):

ikko ‘drink’ ɔkkkko ‘habitually drink’

VC ⇒ VC-VC (far less frequent then VC ⇒ VC-VCC).

ɔtə ‘pull’ ɔtótə ‘pull repeatedly’
okə ‘shave’ ɔkóke ‘habitually shave’
ɔmùne ‘steal’ ɔmûnûne ‘habitually steal’

Relationship types 7-10. Insertion of a homorganic obstruent (p, t, c) after nasal (m, n, ɲ) (7); insertion of a homorganic nasal (ŋ) before k (8); Insertion of ɲe between vowels (9); insertion of ent before a final
or last vowel \(\varepsilon\) (10). The latter case could also be interpreted as addition of \(nte\) after a final or last vowel \(\varepsilon\).

Pluralactional ཆ་ཅ ‘kill (pl. object participants)’, which relates to non-Pluralactional དཀ་ཅ ‘kill’, may be a case of insertion of \(ŋ\) before \(kk\) and subsequent deletion of \(kk\). The pair is a rare example of presence versus absence of final \(t\). Generally, final \(t\) is either present or absent in both.

- ཇོ་ཤ ‘miss’  ཇོ་ཤ ‘habitually miss’ (also 12)
- ཉ་ ‘pour’  ཉ་ ‘pour repeatedly’ (also 13)
- ཉ་ ‘say a name’  ཉ་ ‘enumerate, count’ (also 12)
- ཉ་ ‘build’  ཉ་ ‘habitually build’ (also 13)
- ཉ་ ‘defecate’  ཉ་ ‘habitually defecate’ (also 13)
- ཉ་ ‘squeeze’  ཉ་ ‘squeeze repeatedly’ (also 12)
- ཉ་ ‘show’  ཉ་ ‘show (pl. object participants), teach’ (also 12)
- ཉ་ ‘kill’  ཉ་ ‘kill (pl. object participants)’
- ཉ་ ‘find’  ཉ་ ‘find (pl. object participants)’ (also 13)
- ཉ་ ‘throw (a stone) at’  ཉ་ ‘throw (plural stones) at’
- ཉ་ ‘go’  ཉ་ ‘habitually go’ (also 13)
- ཉ་ ‘go to’  ཉ་ ‘habitually go to’
- ཉ་ ‘descend’  ཉ་ ‘habitually descend’ (also 13)
- ཉ་ ‘wash’  ཉ་ ‘habitually wash’
- ཉ་ ‘tell, say’  ཉ་ ‘habitually tell, say’ (also 12)

In the case of ཉ་/ཤ ‘always go’ (insertion of \(nc\) between vowels) the initial vowels differ.

*Relationship type 11.* See above, under *Relationship types 6 and 11*

*Relationship type 12.* (Underlying) length of the initial vowel and application of an all-low tone pattern.
Length of the initial vowel is not always audible. It is usually audible when it is the only feature distinguishing between the non-Pluractional and the Pluractional stem. In other cases, length of the vowel may only be recognized when it receives a H-tone: this H-tone is realized as a falling tone, reflecting the vowel’s bimoraicity. I write a long vowel when it is the only distinguishing feature between a non-Pluractional and a Pluractional (or between a Pluractional and a further Pluractional).

ʊa ‘rise’ ʊu ‘habitually rise every’
ʊ ‘descend’ ʊʊ ‘habitually descend’
ʊmʊne ‘steal’ ʊmʊne ‘habitually steal’
ʊkà ‘be’ ʊk ‘habitually be’

ʊmʊne ‘steal’ also has a Pluractional with partial reduplication (relationship 11, see 6 and 11).

**Relationship type 13.** Final or last vowel ɛ where the counterpart has final or last ɔ. Only one case is attested for which this is the only difference:

ʊkkwɔ ‘hit’ ʊkkw ‘beat, hit repeatedly’

Some further, occasional relationships are attested between Pluractionals and non-Pluractionals; several of these are suppletive.

ɛɛ ‘stab, blow’ ɔkɔntɔ ‘blow repeatedly’
ɔkɔ ‘cut’ ɔkécc ‘cut repeatedly’
ɔppɔ ‘take an amount’ ɔppɔre ‘take an amount repeatedly’
ɛɛɛ ‘give’ ɛkɛtɛ ‘give (pl. object participants)’
ɔmɔ ‘take, pick up’ ɔcúmɔ ‘take, pick up (pl. object participants)’
ɪpo ‘dig, collect’ ɪtte ‘habitually dig, habitually collect’

Note that the Pluractional ɔcúmɔ does not have any of the formal features that are typically found in Pluractionals.
13.1.1. Further Pluractionals: Pluractionals based on Plurational stems

In many cases, one or more further Pluractionals can be formed on the basis of an already Plurational verb, in particular along the lines of partial reduplication \( VCC \Rightarrow VCC-VCC \) (11) (sometimes \( VC \Rightarrow VC-VC \)), and partial reduplication and gemination \( VNC \Rightarrow VNC-VCC \) (6). Another process that often applies is (underlying) lengthening of the initial vowel and change from a L.H.L* tone pattern to an all-low tone (12). Relationship types 11 and 12 can occur together. Still more relationships are occasionally attested. Relationships between Pluractionals and further Pluractionals are exemplified below. The most common relationships (the reduplicating patterns 11 and 6, depending on the shape of the Plurational base verb, and pattern 12 (lengthening of the initial vowel and application of a L-tone pattern) are presented first.

**Relationship type 11:** Partial reduplication \( VCC \Rightarrow VCC-VCC \)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Pluractionals (non-habitual and habitual meaning)</th>
<th>Further Pluractionals (habitual meaning)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ɔppóppat ‘become full (pl. subj. participants)’</td>
<td>ɔppóppóppat (11), also: ɔppóppat (12) / ɔppóppóppat (11, 12)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ɔppóøre ‘take an amount repeatedly’</td>
<td>ɔppóppóøre (11)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ɔkótte ‘trade several items’</td>
<td>ɔkóttate (11)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ɔkákøtte ‘habitually grind’</td>
<td>ɔkákóttate (11)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ɔt̪iître ‘habitually dig, habitually collect’</td>
<td>ɔt̪ittëte (11)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ɔkwárøttikat ‘remember, think’</td>
<td>ɔkwárøttikat (11), also: ɔkwárøttikat (12) / ɔkwárøttikat (11, 12)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ɔŋuuttet ‘habitually guard’</td>
<td>ɔŋuuttüttet (11)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ɔŋálle ‘urinate (pl. subj. participants)’</td>
<td>ɔŋálalle (11), also: ɔŋalle (12) / ɔŋállalle (11, 12)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ɔt̪illet ‘send (pl. obj. participants)’</td>
<td>ɔt̪ìllillet (11), also: ɔt̪illet (12) / ɔt̪ìllillet (11, 12)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
In **apukkk(w)ɔ** ‘habitually fall with several bumps’ kkw is delabialized before ɔ: **apukkk-ukk(w)-ɔ**.2

In the following cases it is the pluractional ending ece that is reduplicated. The case of **okέcece ‘cut repeatedly’** and **okέcececece ‘habitually cut’** could also be interpreted as involving reduplication of ece.

- **ocece ‘habitually cry’**
- **okάtace ‘watch’**
- **okέce ‘cut repeatedly’**

Partial reduplication VC ⇒ VC-VC

- **otus ‘pull repeatedly’**
- **okóke ‘habitually shave’**

Though there is no restriction on sequences of the type VCC-VCC, there is degemination of the first part in some cases: VCC ⇒ VC-VCC:

- **ţkkt ‘give (pl. object participants)’**
- **ţkkwē ‘beat, hit repeatedly’**

The same type of relationship was seen between **ţkk ‘drink’** and **ţkkk ‘habitually drink’**.

**Relationship type 6:** partial reduplication and gemination on the basis of a stem with NC combination (VNC ⇒ VNC-VCC)

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2 That is, in the speech of JS, possibly not in the speech of NaA (see 2.1.2).
In the following case relationship 6 is applied as VC ⇒ VC-VCC:

\[ \text{\textit{mpone} ‘habitually miss’} \]
\[ \text{\textit{mpappone} (6)} \]
\[ \text{\textit{nante} ‘enumerate, count’} \]
\[ \text{\textit{nantatte} (6)} \]
\[ \text{\textit{rente} ‘habitually speak’} \]
\[ \text{\textit{rentatte} (6)} \]
\[ \text{\textit{unte} ‘habitually build’} \]
\[ \text{\textit{untutte} (6)} \]
\[ \text{\textit{ntet} ‘find (pl. object participants)’} \]
\[ \text{\textit{ntecet} (6)} \]
\[ \text{\textit{nteca} ‘throw (plural stones) at’} \]
\[ \text{\textit{ntucca} (6)} \]
\[ \text{\textit{ntkone} ‘show (pl. obj. participants), teach’} \]
\[ \text{\textit{ntkkkone} (6)} \]

\[ \text{\textit{ntet} ‘habitually build’} \]
\[ \text{\textit{ntuka} (6)} \]

\[ \text{\textit{ntkute} (6)} \]

Relationship type 12: lengthening of the initial vowel and all-low tone pattern. Further examples are found under relationship 11 and 6.

\[ \text{\textit{ntuone} ‘habitually steal’} \]
\[ \text{\textit{ntuone} (12)} \]
\[ \text{\textit{ntince} ‘defecate (pl. subject participants)’} \]
\[ \text{\textit{ntincece} (12)} \]

\[ \text{\textit{ntilet} ‘send (pl. object participants)’} \]
\[ \text{\textit{ntilet} (12)} \]
\[ \text{\textit{ntnn} ‘habitually bring’} \]
\[ \text{\textit{ntann} (11, 12)} \]
\[ \text{\textit{ntorcello} ‘bite repeatedly, eat (hard foods), bite (pl. subject participants)’} \]
\[ \text{\textit{ntorcello} (12)} \]

\[ \text{\textit{ntw} ‘kill (pl. object participants)’} \]
\[ \text{\textit{ntute} (3, 13)} \]
\[ \text{\textit{ntuttute} (3, 13, 11)} \]

Relationship type 3 (insertion of VTT before final or last vowel) must be combined with 13 (final or last \( e \)) in the following case:

\[ \text{\textit{ntw} ‘kill (pl. object participants)’} \]
\[ \text{\textit{ntute} (3, 13)} \]
\[ \text{\textit{ntuttute} (3, 13, 11)} \]

Relationship type 1: gemination of \( t, k \), a nasal or rhotic:

\[ \text{\textit{ntka} ‘habitually be’} \]
\[ \text{\textit{ntka} (1)} \]
\[ \text{\textit{ntkkka} (6)} \]
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Relationship type 10: addition of nte after a final or last vowel e.

erre ‘speak (a longer stretch of speech)’  erente (10)
also: erentette (10, 6)

The following case is a case of suppletion. It is reminiscent of relationship 10 since it ends in nte, but instead of coming after a final or last vowel e the element nte replaces part of the stem:

ɔcʊ́nta ‘take, pick up (pl. object participants)’  ɔcʊ́nte (suppletion)
also: ɔcʊ́ntette (6, VNC ⇒ VNC-VCC)

13.2. Meaning

Lumun Pluractionals can be divided into non-habitual and habitual Pluractionals. The non-habitual ones express plurality within the (bounded) context of an event. The habitual ones express (unbounded) habitual events or repeatedly reoccurring events.

Further Pluractionals (Pluractionals based on an already Pluractional stem) have habitual meaning, regardless of whether the Pluractional base verb has habitual or non-habitual meaning.

Non-habitual Pluractionals can express different types of plurality. They typically denote that an action or event consists of many sub-actions or sub-events, rather than just two or three. This is a tentative list of types of semantics of non-habitual Pluractionals:

1. Verbs that express repetition within one activity. They can be intransitive, or transitive with action upon a single object participant;

2. Verbs that inherently take some time due to continued effort, particularly sensory or mental processes;

3. Verbs that express action upon (distributed) plural object participants;
4. Verbs that express action carried out or undergone by (distributed) plural subject participants.

Examples follow here. Some verbs can, in the right context, express more than one sub-type of non-habitual plurality. The type numbers are mentioned between parentheses.

1. Verbs that express repetition within one activity. When transitive, they express repetitive action, typically upon a single object participant. Both the subject and object participants can have singular reference.

\[ \text{idika} 'tie' \quad \text{idikikko} 'tie sth. while winding the rope several times' (1), also: 'tie several things' (3) \]
\[ \text{akkwâ} 'hit' \quad \text{akkwê} 'beat, hit repeatedly' (1) \]
\[ \text{atô} 'pull' \quad \text{atôpô} 'pull repeatedly' (1) \]
\[ \text{eê 'stab, blow'} \quad \text{okântô} 'stab repeatedly, blow repeatedly' (1) \]
\[ \text{ontu} 'pour' \quad \text{ontë} 'pour repeatedly' (1) (for example water or tea, often locational distribution) \]
\[ \text{akkarô 'call'} \quad \text{akkakkarô 'call repeatedly'} (1), also: 'read' (2) \]
\[ \text{okâpô 'bite'} \quad \text{okâppêllô 'bite repeatedly in a hard or crisp item'} (1),
also: 'bite on several small, hard or crisp items' (3), also: 'bite in a hard or crisp item (pl. subject participants)' (4) \]

2. Verbs that inherently take some time due to continued effort, particularly sensory or mental processes.

\[ \text{okâta 'look'} \quad \text{okâtâcece 'watch'} (2) \]
\[ \text{okwârikot 'recall instantly'} \quad \text{okwârattikot 'remember, think'} (2) \]
\[ \text{irê 'say (one utterance)} \quad \text{erre 'speak (a longer stretch of speech)}' (2) \]

3. Verbs that express action upon (distributed) plural object participants.

\[ \text{onâna 'say a name'} \quad \text{onânte 'enumerate, count'} (3) \]
\[ \text{okâne 'show'} \quad \text{ônkone 'show (pl. object participants), teach'} (3) \]
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ɔɽɔ 'throw at (typically in order to chase away)'
ɔɽʊŋco 'throw at (pl. object participants, typically stones, one by one)' (3)
ɔkkɔt 'kill'  ɔŋwɔ 'kill (pl. object participants)' (3)
ɔɪɛ̂t 'send'  ɔɪɛ́t 'send (pl. object participants: one by one or group by group)' (3)
ɔkɛ́ 'trade'  ɔkɛ́t 'trade (pl. object participants: one by one or group by group, involving several transactions)' (3)

4. Verbs that express action carried out or undergone by (distributed) plural subject participants. These verbs are intransitive. They include some (inchoative) state verbs and verbs that refer to processes concerning the body, but also others. Use of the Pluractional verb in case of a plural participant in not strictly obligatory in these cases (this will be explained further below).

ɪttat 'become fat'  ɪttat 'become fat (pl. subj. participants)' (4)
ɔppat 'become full'  ɔppáppat 'become full (pl. subj. participants)' (4)
ɔppɛ́t 'get pregnant'  ɔppáppet 'get pregnant (pl. subj. participants)' (4)
ɪ 'die'  ɪlɛ́ 'die (pl. subj. participants)' (4)
ɔŋáɛ́ 'urinate'  ɔŋáalle 'urinate once (pl. subj. participants)' (4), also: ‘urinate repeatedly' (1)
aɔ 'come'  aʊkka, aʊkkɔ 'come (pl. subj. participants: one by one or group by group)' (4)

The different uses of non-habitual Pluractionals can be illustrated by means of the verb ‘bite’. The non-habitual Pluractional of ‘bite’, ɔkárello, expresses plural (sub-) events of biting. It is used for eating hard and dry food which requires repeated (audible) biting, as does the very hard cupu-fruits:

m-p-ɔkárello.t  cúpɔ
1-c-bite.PLUR/COMPL  fruit(k.o.)

I have eaten a cupu-fruit (requiring many bites, since the fruit is extremely hard)
Having pain is expressed as the involved body part repeatedly biting its owner:

\textit{wek} \ w-a.\textit{\i}k \ w-a.k\textit{áre}ll\textit{ó-n}

\textit{leg} \ c-be:PR \ c-bite.PLUR:INCOMPL-O1

my foot hurts (lit.: my foot is biting me repeatedly or continuously)

\textit{ákáre}ll\textit{ó} is also used when a singular subject bites in plural object participants and when plural subject participants bite in one object. In the latter case (verb with plural subject and a singular object) the Pluractional verb is not used because of plurality of the subject, but because of the plurality of the event as undergone by the object. For comparison, two examples with non-Pluractional verbs are given first. The examples show that use of the Pluractional verb is not a matter of (semantic) number agreement with the subject or the object, but expresses plurality of the bites.

\textit{tʊk} \ t-\textit{\i}k\textit{ær}t.\textit{\i} \ ʊk\textit{ʊl}

\textit{dog} \ c-bite:COMPL \ child

the dog has bitten the child (one bite)

\textit{lʊk} \ l-\textit{\i}k\textit{ær}t.\textit{\i} \ ʊk\textit{ʊl}

dogs \ c-bite:COMPL \ child

the dogs have bitten the child (the non-Pluractional implies that the child got bitten once. The dogs were in a group when it happened and it is unclear which dog did it)

\textit{tʊk} \ t-\textit{\i}k\textit{ær}\textit{e}ll\textit{ó}.t \ ʊk\textit{ʊl}

dog \ c-bite.PLUR:COMPL \ children

the dog has bitten the children (several children got bitten)

\textit{ştek} \ w-\textit{\i}k\textit{ær}\textit{e}ll\textit{ó}.r-\textit{\i}n

\textit{ants(sp.)} \ c-bite.PLUR:COMPL-O1

the ştek-ants have bitten me (several ants biting once)

The use of a non-habitual Pluractional relating to plural participants depends on how the event or situation is conceptualized. Non-habitual Pluractionals with semantics of type 3 and 4 can present the plural subject or object participants as consisting of individuals or
subgroups performing or undergoing the action in a distributed way: individually or as separate subgroups. For example, in the case of ‘give’, use of the Pluractional (ɪkket) or the non-Pluractional (ɛt̪et̪) presents a different picture of the scene. The Pluractional expresses that the plural objects are handed over one by one, or group by group while the non-Pluractional is not concerned with the (semantic) plurality of the object, nor with distributional aspects, but treats it as a group.

ɪkket-ɔk  aɾəpʊ  en-n-ərik  áppik
give:PLUR:IMP-03 things DEM-C-NEARSP all
give him all those things (one by one)

ɛt̪et̪-ɔk  aɾəpʊ  en-n-ərik  áppik
give:IMP-03 things DEM-C-NEARSP all
give him all those things (not concerned with how the items are handed over)

A similar situation is found in the following phrases with ‘send’:

ɔ-kakká  p-ɔt̪ɪllet̪.ɛ  nʊkól  kéccök
PERS-Kakka  C-send:PLUR:COMPL children market
Kakka has sent the children to the market (as separate groups or individuals, each with his own task)

ɔ-kakká  p-ɔt̪ɪot̪.ɛ  nʊkól  kéccök
PERS-Kakka  C-send:COMPL children market
Kakka has sent the children to the market (as a group, with a shared task)

Explicit distribution over different locations can induce the use of a Pluractional. In the example below Pluractional onte ‘pour’ must be used because the situation involves several actions of pouring due to locational distribution of the object (the sorghum):

anákka  ɔ-kín  t-ɔká.t  cɪk  a-kín  onte  mɪʟ
and.that  PERS-3A  C-be:COMPL  VREF  CONJ:PERS-3A  pour:PLUR:DEPINCMP  sorghum

n.ti  i-ɾʊk ...
from  in-bags
and when they were pouring the sorghum out of the bags ...

The subject in the sentence below is the mass noun ŋʊcʊl ‘sauce’. Its distribution over several calabashes is expressed with a Pluractional verb (ɔpp̪ə́ppat ‘become full’).

ŋʊcʊl ŋ-ɔpp̪ə́ppat.e ɪ-ləntar5
sauce c-become_full.PLUR:COMPL in-calabashes
the calabashes were full with sauce (lit.: the sauce was full in the calabashes)

In the examples below, both the non-Pluractional and the Pluractional can be used. When the non-Pluractional is used, the subjects are conceptualized as a group.

ɔ-kɪn аппɪk ɬ-ɔpp̪ə́ppet.e / ɔ-kɪn аппɪk ɬ-ɔpp̪et.e
PERS-3A all c-get_pregnant.PLUR:COMPL / PERS-3A all c-get_pregnant:COMPL
they are all pregnant (each of them is pregnant) / they are all pregnant

ɔ-kɪn ɬ-ʊŋallɛ.t / ɔ-kɪn ɬ-ʊŋɛ̂ anglais.t
PERS-3A c-urinate.PLUR:COMPL / PERS-3A c-urinate:COMPL
they have urinated (each of them) / they have urinated

For the verbs ‘die’ and ‘kill’ the undergoer-event of dying is central. These verbs do not present the possibility to choose between a non-Pluractional and a Pluractional in case of multiple events of dying. Here pluractionality relates to plurality of the subject in the case of ‘die’ and to plurality of the object in the case of ‘kill’: several persons dying is a plural event of dying and one or more persons killing several persons is also a plural event of dying. However, several persons killing one person is a single event of dying. This goes for any creature that dies, and even when relatively indistinguishable creatures such as ants die as a group the Pluractional must be used. However, according to my consultant (JS), when two or perhaps three persons die, it is not entirely impossible to use the non-Pluractional. I do not think that the near-obligatory use of the Pluractionals of ‘kill’ and ‘die’ makes these verbs essentially different from other Pluractionals that (can) express event-plurality due to
participant plurality. Rather, for some verbs, more than for others, use of the Pluractional is conventionalized more strongly.

The verbs in the example below are ɪɔ ‘die’ and ɪlɛ ‘die (PLUR)’, and ɔkkwɔt ‘kill’ and ɔŋwɔ ‘kill (PLUR)’.

**pol p-iáte**

person c-die:PST

the person died

**ol w-ille.káte**

people c-die:PLUR:PST

the people died

**m-p-ɔkwɔt.ɛ tük nö-löra-löra ana l-ille.káte**

1-c-ignite:COMPL fire on-insects(sp.)-REDUP and PRO,c-die:PLUR:PST

I set fire to the insects (an ant species?) and they died (dry grass is put on the insects and set fire to)

**ɔ-kín ʃ-ɔkkwɔt.ɛ ʃmít**

PERS-3A c-kill:COMPL goat

they have killed the goat

**ɔ-kín ʃ-ɔŋwɔ.t lićsk**

PERS-3A c-kill,PLUR:COMPL goats

they have killed the goats

**m-p-ɔŋwɔ.t ɔrɛk n-тик**

1-c-kill,PLUR:COMPL ants with-fire

I have killed the ants with fire

**Pluractionality and Reciprocal verbs**

Reciprocal verbs are verbs that involve at least two actions (an action from X upon Y and from Y upon X, with the subject referring to both X and Y). Some Reciprocals are based on a Pluractional verb (see also section 14.5 about Reciprocals). Two examples:
The choice of a non-Pluractional or a Pluractional verb may (partly) depend on fixed collocations. For example, cutting in one movement takes the non-Pluractional verb ɔkɪɔ, whereas cutting with several cutting movements takes the Pluractional verb ɔkɛɛɛɛ (for example onions, or somebody’s hair).

\[ \text{m-p-a.ɪk p-a.ɛɛɛɛ ɪnɪn} \]
\[ 1-\text{C-bePR c-cut.PLUR/INCOMPL onion} \]
I am cutting the onions

However, cutting sorghum is expressed with the non-Pluractional ɔkɪɔ, even though the event involves more actions of cutting since it is normally not just one sorghum stock that is cut. The Pluractional ɔkɛɛɛɛ can be used in combination with sorghum, but then it expresses ‘cutting sorghum during several days’. The first example below states what the speaker is doing at the moment of speech, the second, with the Pluractional verb, could be an answer to the question: ‘what are you doing these days?’

\[ \text{m-p-a.ɪk p-á.ɪɔ mɪl} \]
\[ 1-\text{C-bePR c-cut/INCOMPL sorghum} \]
I am cutting the sorghum

\[ \text{m-p-a.ɪk p-a.ɛɛɛɛ mɪl tɔ.pɔn} \]
\[ 1-\text{C-bePR c-cut/PLUR/INCOMPL sorghum at farming field} \]
I am cutting sorghum in the field (implication: the cutting takes several days, it needs repeated going there)

*Verbs with formal characteristics and semantics of Pluractionals, but without non-Pluractional counterpart*
There are also verbs that inherently (or usually) express repeated actions or events and have one or more of the typical formal characteristics of Pluractionals, but lack a counterpart that expresses one (sub) action or (sub-) event. Some examples:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ɔɔc</td>
<td>'press oil' (done with a repeated movement)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ɔllá cik</td>
<td>'sweep'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ɔrullo</td>
<td>'cough'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>antettore</td>
<td>'roll sth.'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ɔttuotta</td>
<td>'swim'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ɔkáko</td>
<td>'grind'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>acce</td>
<td>'lick'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Habitual Pluractionals**

Habitual Pluractionals express habitual actions or repeatedly reoccurring events. Examples:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>non-Plurational</th>
<th>Plurational</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ɔfine</td>
<td>ɔfine 'habitually go'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ṭre</td>
<td>ṭre 'habitually say (one utterance)'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ṭpo</td>
<td>ṭte 'habitually dig, collect'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ɔkkōt</td>
<td>ɔkkōttet 'habitually do, make'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ɔmē</td>
<td>ɔmente 'habitually tell'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ɔɔ 'cry'</td>
<td>ɔɔce 'habitually cry'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ɔmùne 'steal'</td>
<td>ɔmùne 'habitually steal'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Further Pluractionals that are based on Pluractionals with non-habitual meaning do not necessarily retain the pluractional meaning of their counterpart, for example:

<p>| | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>apukkwo</td>
<td>'fall with several bumps'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>apukkokkwo</td>
<td>'habitually fall'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Some examples with Pluractionals with habitual meaning follow here. Habitual Pluractionals can easily be combined with the adverb eppineppin 'always', but eppineppin does not need to be present in order to get the reading 'always do x'. Habitual Pluractionals cannot
be combined with adverbs that express a specific, bounded time frame, such as *mamān* ‘this morning’.

**a-kín**  **díncine**  **i-típā**  
*CONJ.PERS-3A*  *go_to.PLUR:DEPINCOMPL*  *in-marriage*

and they always went to her for marriage (fr. written story)

**a-kín**  **díncine**  **i-típā**  **eppe-eppe**  
*CONJ.PERS-3A*  *go_to.PLUR:DEPINCOMPL*  *in-marriage*  *always-REDUP*

and they always went to her for marriage

**a-kín**  **díncine**  **i-típā**  **mámán**  
*CONJ.PERS-3A*  *go_to.PLUR:DEPINCOMPL*  *in-marriage*  *this.morning*

*and they always went to her for marriage this morning

Some more examples:

**ç-pari**  **p-añ**  **p-a.ka-ût**  **qūcūl**  **q-ś-ń-ta**  
*PERS-wife*  *C-POSS2*  *C-do.PLUR:INCOMPL*  *sauce*  *C-of-what-QW*

what does your wife always make the sauce of? (App. IV, 12)

**ça-çi  c-şek**  **c-ḳá-t**  **cik**  **a-ńko**  **ń-ś-koman**  **k-ś-n-ś-caruk**  
*day*  *C-some*  *C-be:COMPL*  *VREF*  *CONJ-children*  *C-of-houses*  *C-of-on-opening*

**ń-ḳá-t**  **cik**  **a-ń-śmuńe**  **áṟaqo**  **w-ś-rua**  
*C-be:COMPL*  *VREF*  *CONJ-PRO-steal.PLUR:DEPINCOMPL*  *things*  *C-of-hair*

there was a time that there were youngsters from the neighbourhood who were stealing cattle time and again (fr. written story)

Notably, presence of **eppe-eppe** ‘always’ does not always lead to the use of a Pluralactional verb, as in the following example:

**c-łótti**  **p-ákarś-k**  **eppe-eppe**  
*PERS-Lotti*  *C-call:INCOMPL-03*  *always-REDUP*

Lotti always calls him

As mentioned earlier, non-habitual Pluractionals can serve as a basis for further Pluractionals with habitual meaning. The examples below contrast related non-habitual and habitual Pluractionals.
with non-habitual ɔkɔrello:

ɔ-kín ʈ-á.ık ʈ-á.ʃələlə ́ppəntína
PERS-3A  c-bite,PR  c-bite.PLUR.INCOMPL  groundnuts

they are eating groundnuts

with habitual ɔkərello or ɔkərellutə:

ɔ-kín ʈ-á.ık ʈ-á.ʃələlə/ ʈ-á.ʃələlətə ́ppəntína
PERS-3A  c-bite,PR  c-bite.PLUR.INCOMPL/  c-bite.PLUR.INCOMPL  groundnuts

they are always eating groundnuts

with non-habitual ɔŋwɔ:

ɔ-kukkó  p-ɔŋwɔ.t  ličɔk
PERS-Kokku  c-kill.PLUR.COMPL  goats

Kokku has killed the goats

with habitual ɔŋuttə or ɔŋuttuttə:

ɔ-kukkó  p-ɔŋuttə.t / p-ɔŋuttuttə.t  ličɔk
PERS-Kokku  c-kill.PLUR.COMPL/  c-kill.PLUR.COMPL  goats

Kokku used to kill the goats (but now he has stopped doing this)

with non-habitual ɔppɛppt:

ɔ-kín  ʈ-ɔppɛpptɛ
PERS-3A  c-get_pregnant.PLUR.COMPL

they are pregnant

with habitual ɔppɛppt:

ɔ-kakká  p-ɔppɛpptɛ
PERS-Kakka  c-get_pregnant.PLUR.COMPL

Kakka used to get pregnant (but this has stopped)

Expressivity

Pluractionals in general have a certain expressivity, but further Pluractionals based on a habitual Pluractional stem are particularly expressive.
The following line is from the opening of the story ‘Tortoise and
bird’. The activity of the bird is contrasted with the inertia of the
tortoise. The verb \textit{itttte} ‘habitually dig, habitually collect’ is based
on \textit{tte} ‘habitually dig; habitually collect’, which again relates to \textit{ip}=p
‘dig, collect’ (NB: there is no verb which refers to one single digging
movement). The use of the Pluractional reflects the very busy nature
of the bird.

\textit{ŋat̪təttápe} $\eta$-ikk$\ddot{t}$ cik a-itttte a$\ddot{o}n$

\begin{tabular}{llll}
\textit{bird(sp.)} & \textit{C-SIT:COMPL} & \textit{VREF} & \textit{CONJ-(PRO-)collect.PLUR:DEP:INCOMPL} \textit{bees} \\
\end{tabular}

the \textit{ŋat̪təttape}-bird was always collecting honey (App. IV, 2)